226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. 224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the 431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give [602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and 423 the methods used but there were probably some that 226 extended over the area of several villages judging from 224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not 423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have [406] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title 241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The 462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each 463 other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached [888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[208] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi*
361 [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

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[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P. 16 (B)]

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
774 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[49]; the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

[Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.

Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male

Operation of the Devices.

Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming and cutting trees	Male

1, [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows: